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CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE GROUP INTELLIGENCE REPORT

COUNTRY Eastern and Southeastern Europe

DATE: 25X1X

SUBJECT Text of Declarations of European Peasant Party Opposition Movement

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SUPPLEMENT

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- The texts below represent the third draft of the following: (a) Declaration of the leaders of the Peasant Parties of Eastern and Southeastern Europe; (b) A declaration to be submitted to the United Nations Assembly recommending the appointment of a commission to investigate the current situation in Eastern European countries. It is proposed that the latter declaration should be signed by the leaders of the Peasant Parties of Hungary, Rumania, Yugoslavia, Poland and Bulgaria, or their authorized representatives.
- The declarations represent revisions of the original Machek drafts, with certain modifications suggested by Georgi M. Dimitrov in the United States, and were prepared by Milan Gavrilovich, Serb Peasant Party leader in London. Machek is reported to have received the revised drafts from Gavrilovich in the second week of February and is to pass copies of the documents through various channels to the Hungarians, Rumanians, and the Poles.
- One interesting feature of the declaration of the leaders of the Peasant Parties of Eastern and Southeastern Europe is that Machek deleted the name of the Polish Peasant Party "Emancipation" which Gavrilovich included in the list of signatories together with the Polish Peasant Party of Mikolajczyk. This "Emancipation" Party represents the remnants of a small group which broke away from Mikolajczyk's Polish Peasant Party in London before June 1945, and whose name resembles that of the "New Emancipation" group of the Polish Peasant Party sponsored by the Warsaw Regime in Poland prior to the elections of January 1947 in an attempt to split Mikolajczyk's Polish Peasant Party within Poland. In deleting the name of this group from the declaration Machek is seeking to avoid a possible conflict that may arise between the Polish Peasant Party factions either in Warsaw or London when he passes the declaration on to Mikolajczyk. It is Machek's feeling that Mikolajczyk and the Peasant Party elements inside of Poland are infinitely more important than the small group represented in London by Kunciewicz, and it is his hope that the two factions will settle their differences at a later date.
- The text of the declaration of the leaders of the Peasant Parties of Eastern and Southeastern Europe states:

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The undersigned representatives of the Peasant Parties of Eastern and Southeastern Europe deem it their imperative duty, in these historic times, to declare to the public opinion of the world that they have agreed on the following ideals and basic principles:

1. The programs of the Peasant Parties, being based on freedom, accept wholeheartedly the principles of the Atlantic Charter and of the United Nations Charter. They accept the principles of four fundamental liberties: freedom from fear, freedom of expression, freedom of religion, freedom from want - which alone constitute assurance of a better future for mankind and of the development of human culture.
2. The social, political and economic life of our countries is predicated on individual liberty and private ownership, based on productive labor. This is the very condition of our national independence. It is for that reason that we have fought and destroyed feudalism in the past, later fought fascism and Hitlerism at the price of heavy sacrifices, and continue to fight against all the forces which tend to subjugate the individual and the community, either to a dictatorial regime or to a political clique. While adopting the principle of free cooperatives which represent the synthesis of individual interest and that of the community, we categorically reject all kinds of collectivism and cooperatives imposed by force, which thus reestablished the slavery of the dark past.
3. The Peasant Parties, being thoroughly democratic, are the staunch opponents of all ideologies with totalitarian and dictatorial tendencies.
4. We consider democracy one and indivisible. It must guarantee the freedom of the individual as well as that of all political, economic and cultural groups, and the right to solve all problems through free discussion and in conformity with the vote of the majority. We reject the idea of two kinds of democracies, that of the West and that of the East. We consider that the so-called "Eastern" democracy is nothing else than the dictatorship of the Communist minority that seeks to assure for itself the monopoly of power and, through its methods, endeavors to start the fires of civil wars, adding thus new destruction to the already accumulated ruins.
5. We consider that only the ethical principle of faith in God and of the protection of family can bring about the happiness and the progress of the peoples. Therefore we reject the materialist ideology of Communism, which degrades man, family, peoples, humanity.
6. It is only by pursuing the implementation of our program stated above that we believe our countries can contribute to a lasting peace and international understanding and cooperation. It is for that reason that we have been in the past staunch defenders of the League of Nations and we now look hopefully to the new international organizations of the United Nations.
7. In order to fulfill this program, to achieve their common aims and bring about the triumph of the principles stated above, the peasants must unite their efforts in the struggle against the freedom of their peoples. So must their political organizations.

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Therefore the undersigned, on behalf of their Parties, have decided to link together and form a Peasant International Organization, based on the above principles, for their further development and practical application as well as for the establishment of the common principles of strategy and tactics in the struggle in which the peasantry is engaged for common ideals of freedom and democracy. The undersigned will act as the Provisional Executive Committee pending the convocation of the First International Congress of Peasant Parties.

For the Croatian Peasant Party.
For the Bulgarian Peasant Party.
For the Polish Peasant Party
(on behalf of M. Mikolajczyk).
For the Rumanian Peasant Party
(on behalf of Julius Maniu).
For the Serbian Peasant Party.

5. The text of the declaration to be submitted to the United Nations Assembly recommending the appointment of a commission to investigate the current situation in Eastern European countries states:

The undersigned are in agreement on the common principles on which are based the Peasant Parties, representing the vast majority of the population of the respective countries of Eastern and Southeastern Europe.

As a consequence of the war, these nations are now subjected to regimes presenting a large number of common characteristics. Thus, in contradiction to the principles of the Atlantic Charter, the Yalta Agreements and the United Nations' Charter, these nations are, in fact, deprived of the right to choose the form of government under which they wish to live; of sovereign rights and self-government; of the means of dwelling in safety within their own boundaries; of any possibility of living out their lives in freedom from fear and want. They have been deprived of the free and effective exercise of their political rights, such as freedom of speech and expression. Their religious organizations are subjected to persecution and terrorism. The people are the victims of arbitrary and tyrannical actions of the political police. Tens of thousands of citizens are being arrested and imprisoned without trial. Besides, the courts are deprived of their independence and are subjected to the wanton orders of the executive power.

The elections that had taken place in Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Rumania and Poland, held under a regime of violence and terror, have resulted through additional manipulation, as has been shown by all impartial observers, in the total falsification of the popular will. These facts are well known to the American and British Governments, and had been the subject of their repeated notes and protests addressed to the respective governments. That is why these elections are not considered "free and unfettered" either by the British and the U.S. Governments or by the peoples of the countries concerned.

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This state of affairs in an important region of Europe containing about one hundred million inhabitants is not the result of an independent activity of local political forces. Its creation has been made possible only through the direct intervention or effective support from outside in favor of political groups representing but a trifling minority of the population, which groups have thus been able to usurp the power of the state and to keep it, as a result of totalitarian methods. Consequently these political developments, which are far from normal, have corresponded to a foreign pattern conceived and imposed again from outside. That pattern is in flagrant contradiction to the principles of the two Charters.

Our nations have an old culture and old traditions. They have had a national life for many centuries. Thus one can be certain that the imposition from outside of governments formed by the political minorities, whose doctrine is completely opposed to the beliefs of the great majority of the population, will result in the progressive intensification of nationalism within these nations. Thus the dangers for which Article 14 of the U.N. Charter provides are existing in that region of Europe and will steadily grow.

This makes it advisable for the U.N. Assembly to concern itself with this situation, all the more so as there exists a flagrant violation of the "purposes and principles of the United Nations," according to the wording of the same Article 14.

In conclusion, we respectfully ask, conforming with the provision of Article 10 of the Charter, that the U.N. Assembly recommend to the Security Council the appointment of a Commission to investigate the existing situation in our respective countries and to report on the best means of organizing those countries in accordance with the principles and the laws of the United Nations.

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